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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA

December 1984

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PREFACE

This bibliography is culled primarily from books and scholarly journals received during the previous quarter, although significant periodical articles are also cited. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are dated slightly. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from quarter to quarter. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

Analysts contributing to this bibliography are Eunice Charles, Nancy Drexler, Kenneth Liberstein, Moses Pinkston, and Rachel Warner. Word processing support was provided by Cheryl D. Walker.

Africa General

Arlinghaus, Bruce E.   Military Development in Africa--The Political and
    Economic Risks of Arms Transfer. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1984,
    152 pp.

    This study describes and analyzes the growth and modernization of armed
    forces in Africa and examines the political and economic risks associated
    with military development. The author focuses on the key role played by
    arms transfers. The military development process has significant
    implications for US policy on arms transfers and security assistance to
    Africa. Arlinghaus stresses that African nations are pursuing military
    development through arms transfers in response to very real threats in the
    region. Although African countries have serious economic problems, they
    cannot put off military development and concentrate solely on economic
    development. From his analysis, Arlinghaus concludes that the United States
    should increase military aid to Africa to gain political influence in the
    region. However, much greater care must be taken in choosing the type of
    aid provided, taking into account what effect it will have on each
    country's politics, economy, and technology.

Arlinghaus, Bruce E., ed.   African Security Issues: Sovereignty, Stability, and
    Solidarity. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1984, 229 pp.

    African states have discovered that despite hopes for rapid economic
    development through regional cooperation and solidarity and the assistance
    of industrialized nations, national defense must come first. This book
    contains chapters on all aspects of African security issues, including
    security problems, superpower rivalry in Africa, relations between African
    countries and the rest of the world, internal stability, and state-to-state
    cooperation.

Denny, Lesley M.   "Portugal and Africa: The Consequences of Military
    Intervention." Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence
    Studies, June 1984, pp. 38-42.

    An analysis of the repercussions of the April 1974 Portuguese coup d'etat
    on Africa, including a description of the events which led to the takeover.
    The author argues that the subsequent independence of all of Portugal's
    colonies in Africa and the total withdrawal of its armed forces contributed
    to the civil war in Angola and to the economic chaos in Mozambique as well
    as to the enormous white exodus from both territories.

Ifeagwu, Sam.   "The Soviets in Africa." Africa, September 1984, pp. 10-19.

    A review of Soviet relations with African countries and the problems
    Soviets face, including language barriers and competition with Western
    development aid. Nonetheless, the author argues that the Soviet Union has
    made lasting friends and partners in Africa over the last 2 decades. He
    concludes that attitudes in the West toward Africa are again hardening and

racism is growing so that Africa is once more looking toward the East as
it did in the 1960s.

Legum, Colin.   "China's Ties With Africa." New African, November 1984, pp.
   43-45.

   This article traces China's priorities in Africa which include increased
   trade and stronger cultural and political relations. The next decade should
   witness increased foreign relations and bilateral exchanges since Africa
   ranks high in China's foreign relations priorities, according to Legum.

October Revolution and Africa.   Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1983, 280 pp.

   The Soviet view of the influence of the 1917 Russian revolution on African
   national liberation movements and the development of the Socialist-oriented
   African countries is presented. Also discussed are the foundations of the
   Soviet Union's foreign policy, and the significance of the principle of
   internationalism in Soviet relations with the newly independent nations of
   Africa.

Pabanel, Jean-Pierre.   Les Coups d'Etat Militaires en Afrique Noire (Military
   Coups in Black Africa). Paris: L'Harmattan, 1984, 184 pp.

   Pabanel argues that to understand the causes of military coups, it is
   necessary to examine conditions in the state, not in the army. The
   political systems of states which have not experienced coups as well as
   those with coups should be studied to isolate factors contributing to
   military take-overs. The author discusses in detail three explanations for
   coups which are frequently put forth--ethnic conflict, the absence of a
   middle class, and increased militarization--and finds them all inadequate.
   However, he does not offer his own explanation, arguing that each African
   state must be examined individually. The book concludes with summaries of
   the coups which have occurred in Africa.

Tripp, Charles.   "Libya and Africa (La Libye et l'Afrique)," Middle East
   Review, February 1984, pp. 317-28.

   Colonel Qadhafi's interest in Africa coincides with the evolution of his
   concept of revolution. In the mid-1970s this concept became increasingly
   based on principles particularly applicable to developing countries.
   Qadhafi's problems in Africa are two-fold: his prodigious generosity
   yielded no concrete results on the continent, penalizing instead Libyan
   domestic priorities, and his absolutism caused a groundswell of hostility
   which jeopardized his interests in Africa. Chad is a microcosm of
   Qadhafi's accomplishments in Africa to date: the political and economic
   costs clearly outweigh any possible gain.

Botswana

Dale, Richard.   "The Creation and Use of the Botswana Defence Force." The Round Table, April 1984, pp. 216-35.

The author uses the institutional transfer approach in analyzing the Botswana Defence Force (BDF). The present BDF has no direct, long-standing colonial antecedent as is customarily the case regarding armed forces on the African continent. The author's inquiry focuses on the force structure and mission, recruitment and training, the economic resources consumed by the BDF, and the transfer of overseas military hardware and expertise to the army. Finally, the author investigates the relative role of the BDF within the regional setting, where the management and application of violence are an integral part of the quest for majority rule.

Ethiopia

Keller, Edmond J.   "The Ethiopian Revolution: How Socialist Is It?" Journal of African Studies, vol. II, no. 2 (Summer 1984), pp. 52-65.

The author analyzes the Ethiopian revolution in terms of how successfully it has followed five major principles of Marxism-Leninism. These principles are defined as: the establishment of a revolutionary ideology; the creation of an authoritarian state apparatus capable of enforcing policies; the elimination of private ownership of the means of production; the establishment of a class-conscious proletarian party capable of penetrating all aspects of society; and the resolution of the nationalities question. Keller concludes that the regime is a radical military dicatorship with a socialist orientation. Although it is still possible for Ethiopia to chart a socialist course, there are serious obstacles to socialist development. These include widespread opposition to the regime's ideology, the nationalities question, and insufficient commitment among Ethiopia's military leaders.

Lefort, Rene.   Ethiopia: An Heretical Revolution? London: Zed Press, 1983, 301 pp.

The Ethiopian Revolution has been largely ignored by the outside world because the Ethiopian Government is secretive and restricts research by foreigners. Also, the leftist political scientists who generally show an avid interest in revolutionary movements have generally ignored Ethiopia's revolution because they find it disturbing. The author gives an account of the revolution up until 1978 when Mengistu became the clear leader and the pace of change began to slow. An attempt is made to examine how the revolution affected Ethiopians of all classes and in all areas of the country. Since in most cases it is impossible to obtain documentation of recent events in Ethiopia, Lefort relies heavily on the personal notes of an unnamed friend who resided in Ethiopia during the period examined in the book. His text was first published in 1981 in French.

Tseggai, Araia. "Independent Eritrea: Economically Viable?" Horn of Africa,
    vol. 6, no. 2 (1984), pp. 39-49.

    One of the reasons used in the United Nations in 1950 to deny Eritrea
    independence was the claim that the former Italian colony was not
    economically viable. The author attempts to show that Eritrea has adequate
    resources to survive and even prosper as an independent country. While it
    is true that the agricultural sector has not been very productive since
    Eritrea became part of Ethiopia, during the colonial period agricultural
    productivity was high and has the potential of being so again, he argues.
    Eritrea also has mineral deposits and other natural resources and a
    sufficiently well-developed infrastructure to allow exploitation of these
    resources. The author dismisses the claim that Eritrea's size and
    population are too small for independent status by pointing out that there
    are at least 62 UN member states with a smaller surface area than Eritrea;
    40 of these states also have smaller populations. He maintains the
    allegations that Eritrea is not economically viable have been made purely
    for political reasons by Ethiopia and its allies.

Francophone Africa

Chipman, John. "Les Problemes de Securite en Afrique Francophone (Security
    Problems in Francophone Africa)." Politique Etrangere, no. 2 (1984), pp.
    331-53.

    Recent events in Guinea and Cameroon have emphasized the fragile nature of
    peace in most francophone African countries. Shortly after Sekou Toure's
    death in April 1984, the military seized power in Guinea , and just days
    following this coup, the civil government in Cameroon was threatened by
    military elements who had remained loyal to former President Ahidjo. The
    author discusses the different types of security problems present in
    francophone African countries, regional options to cope with them, and
    France's role in regional structures. He concludes that regional
    cooperation will have little impact on the prevention of internal
    upheavals. The article includes tables and a chronology of recent events
    in Chad.

Kenya

Nyongo, Anyang. "The Decline of Democracy and the Rise of Authoritarian and
    Factionalist Politics in Kenya." Horn of Africa, vol. 6, no. 3 (1984), pp.
    25-34.

    This article traces the erosion of democratic government in Kenya which led
    to the 1982 coup attempt. Between 1960 and 1964 Kenyan politics were
    marked by genuine popular participation, but since then, democratic
    political activity has been systematically curtailed. The author gives a
    concise account of how and why the men in power have dismantled democratic
    government over the years. Today's regime finds itself unable to build a
    strong personal presidential system of government and unable to gain a
    popular constituency.   Through repression of all criticism the regime has

isolated itself, destabilizing its own position by not being aware of
popular sentiments. The men in power have not learned from the experience
of the 1982 uprising but continue their politics of conformity which will
ultimately be far more destabilizing than permitting more open political
expression, the author concludes.

Mali

Schissel, Howard.   "No More Room for Maneuver." Africa Report,
    September-October 1984, pp. 37-39.

    Critical economic imbalances resulting from failed development strategies
    and the ravages of persistent drought are forcing Mali's military
    leadership toward economic liberalism. However, economic liberalism is not
    without significant political risks. Mali's IMF-inspired reform program
    disadvantages the military and public sectors and consequently will cut off
    the Traore regime from much of its political base. The danger is
    compounded as support in the countryside is largely symbolic. As President
    Traore's domestic political credit runs low, Malian authorities are
    troubled by signs of regional malaise in neighboring Burkina Faso, Guinea,
    and Niger.

Mozambique

Mozambique: Du Sous-Developpement au Socialism (Mozambique: From
Underdevelopment to Socialism). Paris: L'Harmattan, 1983, 198 pp.

    A report of the Central Committee of the Fourth Congress of FRELIMO held in
    Maputo from 26 to 30 April 1983. Includes sections on the colonial
    situation of Mozambique and subsequent economic problems, the budget and
    problems of economic and social development, major developmental targets,
    the class struggle, the role of FRELIMO in the construction of socialism,
    consolidation and tasks of the popular democratic state, defense, and the
    participation of all citizens in national tasks.

Campbell, Horace.   "War, Reconstruction and Dependence in Mozambique." Third
    World Quarterly, vol. 6, no. 4 (October 1984), pp. 839-67.

    A detailed analysis of the impact on Mozambique's economy and security of
    South African destabilization policies and the events which led to the
    signing between Mozambique and South Africa of the Nkomati Accord. This
    lengthy article includes descriptions of South African attacks in
    Mozambique, South Africa's influence on RENAMO, RENAMO's expanding
    terrorist grip on the countryside, and the ideology and politics of the
    ruling FRELIMO party. The author concludes that major war and
    reconstruction are still ahead in both Mozambique and South Africa.

Namibia

Green, Reginald; Kiljunen, Marja-Liisa; and Kiljunen, Kimno; eds.   Namibia: The
   Last Colony. Harlow, Essex, U.K.: Longman, 1981, 258 pp.

   Provides useful information on political economy and agricultural
   development in Namibia. Gives figures on South African Defence Force
   manpower levels, accounts of SWAPO military achievements, and SWAPO
   military gains. Material is presented with insight and intellectual
   discipline, although some statistics are suspect.

South Africa

de Villiers, Dirk and Johanna.   PW. n.p. [South Africa]: Tafelberg, 1984, 376
   pp.

   A new biography on the life of P.W. Botha, current Executive President of
   the Republic of South Africa. The book paints a picture of a strong
   Christian, a staunch family man, a merciless organizer, a very hard worker
   and a man who almost fanatically believes in loyalty and discipline.
   Discusses the relationship between John Vorster and P.W. Botha and the
   influence of the Information Scandal on them. Botha's role as Minister of
   Defence and the build up of the SADF are examined in detail.

Heitman, H.R.   "The Transkei Defence Force." Armed Forces, August 1984, pp.
   7-11.

   This article discusses the formation of the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) in
   1975 and the problems faced by the young army in the first years of its
   inception. Discusses training and the future planning of an air wing.
   Examines the first battalion-level field training exercise, "Crocodile
   Tears II," which took place in May 1984. A very informative and interesting
   article for an introductory look at the TDF.

Jenkins, Simon.   "Regional Stability in Southern Africa" Optima, 31 July 1984,
   pp. 50-55.

   This short essay by the politics editor of the Economist examines the world
   efforts to isolate South Africa and their results, which seem to be to
   South Africa's benefit, in that the government has been forced to be
   self-sufficient in arms production through the creation of parastatal
   organizations. The author also discusses domestic political dynamics among
   the Afrikaners, asserting that predictions regarding the disintegration of
   the National Party, and with it Afrikaner political influence, have been
   proven false.

Southern Africa

Coker, Christopher.   "L'Afrique du Sud, l'Afrique Australe et la Securite
    Regionale (South Africa, Southern Africa and Regional Security)."
    Politique Etrangere, no. 2 (1984), pp. 287-300.

    South Africa's regional strategy has always been a subtle mix of military
    dissuasion on the one hand and economic conciliation on the other.
    Nonetheless, the recent nonaggression treaty between South Africa and
    Mozambique took the world by surprise. The author discusses South Africa's
    destabilization policies toward its neighbors from 1978 to 1983, examines
    South Africa's relations with the superpowers, and speculates on the
    possibility of a new equilibrium in southern Africa. He concludes that
    because the new accord has done little to modify South Africa's internal
    situation, it will have little effect in bringing stability to southern
    Africa.

Copley, Gregory.   "Storms of Change." Defense and Foreign Affairs, October
    1984, pp. 13-15.

    During 1984, South Africa, for the first time in any consistent fashion,
    decided to take the initiative to break the wall of hostility it faced
    from the frontline states of southern Africa from where continual political
    and military harrassment was coming. One of the principal reasons for
    South Africa's initiative has been international pressure for change in
    South Africa's regional behavior and internal policies mostly by the West
    and the United Nations. The article discusses South African internal
    terrorism and opposition, the slowing momentum of Soviet strategic gains in
    southern Africa, and the internal security of the regional states.

Somerville, Keith.   "The USSR and Southern Africa Since 1976." Journal of
    Modern African Studies, vol. 22, no. 1 (1984), pp. 73-108.

    Primarily a study of Soviet relations with Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.
    Includes discussions of Soviet ties to the liberation groups which came to
    power in these three countries, Soviet attitudes toward the Namibian issue,
    and Soviet aspirations in South Africa. Concludes that little change in
    Soviet policy has occurred since Brezhnev nor is any likely to occur under
    Chernenko.

Zaire

Coleman, Gordon C.   "US Foreign Policy to Zaire--Should It Change?" US Army
    War College Strategic Studies Institute Special Report, AD-A116222,
    Carlisle Barracks, Pa., 19 April 1982, 31 pp.

    A strategic assessment and economic analysis of Zaire in which the progress
    of nation building and the leadership of President Mobutu are examined.
    Included is a review of past and present US foreign policy toward Zaire.

The author concludes that Zaire's economic development is dependent on its relations with the United States and that there is no alternative to supporting Mobutu because of Zaire's size, central location, and mineral and economic resources.

Zimbabwe

Kunert, Dirk and Vale, Colin.   "The Chimera of the 'Zimbabwe Solution'." Strategic Review, vol. XII, no. 3 (Summer 1984), pp. 23-36.

This essay discusses what is referred to as the "Mugabe Model" or "Zimbabwe Solution." The model connotes a central assumption that self-styled Marxist leaders of revolutionary movements in developing countries carry the "Marxist" label not out of any deep dogmatic conviction, but rather as a kind of revolutionary accreditation, with at best a superficial attachment to a post-revolutionary model of social discipline for their societies. The "Mugabe Model" asserts that the primary commitment of leaders from developing countries is to triumph in the given struggle and to mastery of the post-revolutionary order; ideology is flexibly adapted to these objectives. The authors present historical facts and an analysis of the current situation in Zimbabwe which allows the reader to understand the process of socio-political development in newly independent countries with links to the Soviet bloc. They are analytical in detail and give recommendations on the future course that the foreign policies of Western nations should take.